

Message Text

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ORIGIN PRS-01

INFO OCT-01 CCO-00 SS-15 SSO-00 ISO-00 PA-02 USIE-00 INR-07

NSC-05 NSCE-00 INRE-00 /031 R

DRAFTED BY S/PRS:SPOULAIN:HHB

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE

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TOSEC 369

E.O. 11652:N/A

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: COMBINED RADIO, WIRES & NEWSPAPERS FEBRUARY 15

-- MORNING

FOR AMBASSADOR ANDERSON FROM S/PRS

NO. 26

1. KALB - CBS - RADIO - FIRST LINE REPORT - JERUSALEM:
HAK HAS BEEN UNDER SEVERE ATTACK LATELY AND IT MAY HAVE
BEGUN TO EFFECT HIS CAPACITY TO CONDUCT A COHESIVE AND
IMAGINATIVE FOREIGN POLICY. WHEN HE WAS REGARDED AS A
DIPLOMATIC MERLIN, A POP-ART SUPERMAN, THE PROBLEMS HE
FACED SEEMED TO SHRINK, ADVERSARIES WORRIED ABOUT HIS
GUILE AND HIS PPOWER AND THEY YIELDED QUITE OFTEN TO HIS
SUGGESTIONS; BUT THAT IMAGE HAS NOW LOST ITS LUSTURE.
AS DEAN RUSK PUT IT RECENTLY, "KISSINGER HAS RETURNED TO
THE LAND OFTHE MORTALS, HE IS NOW JUST A SECRETARY OF
STATE. THAT RETURN TO NORMALCY AND ALL THE PARTY PROBLEMS
THAT ENTAILS IN TURN ENHANCES THE COMPLEXITY OF PROBLEMS AND
LEAVES HAK OPEN, VULNERABLE TO WIDE-RANGING CRITICISM.
HE HAS BECOME IN OTHER WORDS A JUICY TARGET. COLUMNISTS
RIP INTO HIM ON VIETNAM CLAIMING HE WANTS THE WAR TO
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CONTINUE. EX-WHITE HOUSE AIDES WHO HAVE SPENT
TIME IN PRISON QUOTE PRESIDENT NIXON AS SAYING, "KISSINGER
IS UNSTABLE" AND THEY GET TREMENDOUS PLAY ON TV.

DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL CONTENDERS BLAST THE SECRETARY ALMOST AS THOUGH IT IS OPEN FIELD DAY. FOR A MAN USED TO ADULATION, IT IS HARD GETTING USED TO SUCH RELENTLESS CRITICISM. IT HURTS OBVIOUSLY, IT HURTS HIM AND IT HURTS HIS CAPACITY. THE ISSUES IN THIS PART OF THE WORLD ARE VERY INTRICATE, EMOTIONAL AND DIFFICULT. OBVIOUSLY PATIENCE, LUCK AND A LOT OF WISDOM ARE REQUIRED IF THERE IS TO BE A CHANCE FOR SOLVING THESE ISSUES. HAK BELIEVES HE CAN HELP SOLVE THEM. PRESIDENT FORD BELIEVES THAT TOO, BUT MORE IMPORTANT IN THIS CASE, PRESIDENT SADAT AND PM RABIN BELIEVE THAT, NEITHER CAN REALLY UNDERSTAND WHY ANYONE WOULD WANT TO UNDERCUT THE ONE DIPLOMAT WHO STILL HAS CREDITILITY IN JERUSALEM AND IN CAIRO. JUST LOOK AT THE PROBLEMS ---

BOTH EGYPT AND ISRAEL WANT ANOTHER SINAI AGREEMENT BUT THEY ARE STILL FAR APART ON HOW TO GET IT. ISRAEL DOES NOT WANT TO GIVE UP MILITARILY STRATEGIC MOUNTAIN PASSES NOR THE ABU BUDEIS OIL FIELDS UNLESS SHE CAN BE SURE THAT SHE WON'T HAVE TO FIGHT ANOTHER WAR IN THE NEAR FUTURE. ISRAEL WANTS A DOCUMENT FORMALLY SUSPENDING THE STATE OF BELLIGERENCY BETWEEN THE TWO NATIONS. EGYPT SAYS THE SINAI IS EGYPTIAN AND SADAT WANTS IT BACK NOW. HE IS READY TO GET IT BACK IN STAGES, HOWEVER, SO LONG AS THIS NEXT STAGE INCLUDES THE PASSES AND THE OIL FIELDS; BUT UNTIL HE GETS ALL OF IT BACK HE SAYS HE CAN'T VERY WELL SUSPEND BELLIGERENCY WITH ISRAEL. SO THE NUB OF THIS NEGOTIATION IS WHAT IS NON-BELLIGERENCY, WHAT CAN HAK COME UP WITH THAT ISRAEL CAN CALL NON-BELLIGERENCY AND RABIN CAN SELL TO THE ISRAELI PARLIAMENT AND THAT SADAT CAN DEFINE IN HIS OWN WAY AS A CONSULTATION OF BELLIGERENCY PENDING THE FINAL SETTLEMENT IN THE SINAI. A SOLUTION OF THIS IS CONCEIVABLE ACCORDING TO HAK BUT IT IS GOING TO BE VERY ROUGH AND BOTH SIDES ARE GOING TO HAVE TO MAKE SUBSTANTIAL CONCESSIONS ONE TO THE OTHER.

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IF THAT WEREN'T BAD ENOUGH, CYPRUS HAS NOW EXPLODED ONCE AGAIN WITH THE TURKS DECLARING THE NORTHERN THIRD OF THE ISLAND. ... TO BE A SEPARATE STATE. THE TURKS TOOK THIS ACTION HAK FEELS IN RESPONSE TO THE CONGRESSIONAL ACTION CUTTING OFF MILITARY AID TO TURKEY ON FEBRUARY 5TH. SO, CYPRUS (IS) ALMOST AS BAD AS THE ME.

2. KALB - CBS - RADIO FROM RIYADH AT 8:00 O'CLOCK: HAK FLEW INTO RIYADH TO DISCUSS LONG TERM OIL PURCHASES BELOW CARTEL PRICES, A MAJOR CHANGE IN AMERICAN PRACTICE. AND A HIGH U.S. OFFICIAL TOLD REPORTERS THAT ONE AND PERHAPS MORE OIL PRODUCING COUNTRIES HAVE ALREADY EXPRESSED AN INTEREST IN SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT IT IS NOT CLEAR WHETHER SAUDI ARABIA IS ONE OF THE COUNTRIES

OR WHETHER HAK CAME HERE TO ENTICE SAUDI ARABIA TO BECOME ONE. IN ANY CASE, THIS NEW HAK APPROACH RUNS AGAINST THE GRAIN OF THE OLD HAK LINE THAT OIL CONSUMING COUNTRIES SHOULD NOT MAKE SEPARATE DEALS WITH OIL PRODUCING NATIONS. THE STATE DEPARTMENT RECENTLY CRITICIZED FRANCE FOR WORKING OUT A SIMILAR DEAL. HAK DISCUSSED THIS NEW APPROACH WITH FAISAL. HE ALSO DISCUSSED WHAT ONE OFFICIAL CALLED "ECONOMIC WARFARE AND THE USE OF IT FOR A POLITICAL OBJECTIVE". ON HIS ARRIVAL THE SECRETARY TRIED EASING WHATEVER ANXIETY MIGHT EXIST HERE ABOUT THE POSSIBLE USE OF AMERICAN POWER AGAINST THE OIL FIELDS; THE SECRETARY SAYING, THE AMERICAN ATTITUDE IS ONE OF CONCILIATION, COOPERATION AND TRADITIONAL FRIENDSHIP.

3. WIRES, SCHWEID, RIYADH, AP -- THE U.S. IS LAYING PLANS TO TRY TO BREAK UP THE WORLD OIL CARTEL THROUGH LONG-TERM OIL DEALS WITH INDIVIDUAL PRODUCERS AT PRICES BELOW THE CURRENT FIXED LEVEL. THIS WAS LEARNED AS HAK ARRIVED TODAY TO DISCUSS PROSPECTS OF PRODUCER-CONSUMER COOPERATIONS ON OIL PRICES WITH KING FAISAL.

HAK SAID THE AMERICAN ATTITUDE HE BRINGS TO THE DISCUSSIONS "WILL BE ONE OF CONCILIATION, COOPERATION AND TRADITIONAL FRIENDSHIP."

IT WAS LEARNED PRIVATELY, HOWEVER, THAT THE U.S. PLANS TO UNCLASSIFIED

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STRIKE AT THE PRICE-SETTING POWER OF THE ORGANIZATION OF PETROLEUM EXPORTING COUNTRIES BY MAKING INDIVIDUAL DEALS

AT PRICES BELOW THE CURRENT \$10 TO \$11 A BARREL SET BY OPEC.

AT LEAST ONE PRODUCER IS SAID TO HAVE EXPRESSED AN INTEREST IN SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT.

IN ANOTHER DEVELOPMENT, OPEC POSTPONED FOR ONE WEEK, UNTIL FEB. 25, A SCHEDULED MEETING OF OIL MINISTERS IN VIENNA, NO REASON WAS GIVEN, BUT THE LATER DATE MOVES IT CLOSER TO ANOTHER OPEC MEETING TO BEGIN MARCH 1 IN ALGIERS WHERE OIL MINISTERS WILL BE JOINED BY FOREIGN AND FINANCE MINISTERS, ALL OF WHOM WILL PREPARE FOR AN

4. NEWSPAPERS ;'

NYT - DATE LINE AQABA - GWERTZMAN PAGE 8 HEADLINE HAK SAYS HE IS QUOTE VERY SATISFIED END QUOTE AFTER DISCUSSIONS IN EGYPT AND ISRAEL EXCERPTS: HAK SAID TODAY THAT HE WAS ,VERY SATISFIED" WITH HIS EXPLORATORY TALKS WITH ISRAELI AND

EGYPTIAN OFFICIALS IN ADVANCE OF NEXT ACTUAL NEGOTIATIONS
FOR A NEW SINAI AGREEMENT. ...

HIS OPTIMISTIC REMARKS WERE CONSISTENT WITH HIS PUBLIC
POSITION THROUGHOUT THE TRIP. BUT THEY WERE
SOMEWHAT AT VARIANCE WITH THOSE OF SENIOR ISRAELI
OFFICIALS WHO TOOK A HARD LINE TODAY IN A BRIEFING
FOR NEWSMEN, ASSERTING THAT HAK DID NOT BRING TO THE
ISRAELI LEADERS VERY MUCH MORE ABOUT THE EGYPTIAN POSITION
THAN WAS KNOWN BEFORE.

WHEN AMERICAN NEWSMEN TOLD SENIOR U.S. OFFICIALS ABOARD
HAK'S PLANE ABOUT THE ISRAELI COMMENTS, THEY WERE ADVISED
NOT TO TAKE TOO SERIOUS IN COMING WEEKS THE PUBLIC
STATEMENTS AND NEWS BRIEFINGS FROM EITHER THE EGYPTIAN
OR ISRAELI SIDES.

THE NEWSMEN WERE TOLD THAT IN ADVANCE OF NEXT
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MONTH'S "SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY", BOTH THE EGYPTIANS AND
ISRAELIS WERE SURE TO PRESENT VERY TOUGH POSITIONS IN
PUBLIC TO GAIN WHATEVER NEGOTIATING ADVANTAGE THEY COULD.

HAK WHO SEEMED IN GOOD SPIRITS TODAY HAS AVOIDED PROVIDING
DETAILS ABOUT WHAT HE WAS TOLD BY SADAT AND BY RABIN
AND OTHER ISRAELI OFFICIALS IN THEIR PRIVATE TALKS.

A RELAXED MOOD

BUT ABOARD THE AIRCRAFT THE KISSINGER PEOPLE WERE IN A
RELAXED MOOD. NEWSMEN WERE TOLD THAT HAK BELIEVED HE
HAD ACCOMPLISHED HIS BASIC OBJECTIVE OF FINDING OUT THE
"NUANCES" OF THE EGYPTIAN AND ISRAELI POSITIONS AND THAT
HE WAS CONFIDENT THAT AN AGREEMENT WAS POSSIBLE
DESPITE THE WIDE GAP THAT STILL EXISTED PUBLICLY.

HIS CREDIBILITY TOO WITH NEWSMEN. HE APPARENTLY WANTS
TO APPEAR NEITHER TOO OPTIMISTIC NOR TOO PESSIMISTIC TO
SHOW THAT HE IS NOT CERTAIN WHAT NEXT MONTH'S NEGOTIA-
TIONS WILL PRODUCE. ...

5. WASHPOST PAGE ONE 4-COLUMN PIC ABOVE FOLD HAK WITH
MEIR - BERGER HEADLINE ISRAEL WANTS PUBLIC PLEDGE FROM
EGYPT
EXCERPTS: A SENIOR ISRAELI OFFICIAL IN JERUSALEM SAID
TODAY THAT HIS GOVERNMENT HAS RULED OUT ANY SUBSTANTIAL
TERRITORIAL CONCESSIONS UNLESS EGYPT MAKES A CLEAR
COMMITMENT, PUBLIC AND IN WRITING, NOT TO RESORT TO FORCE
NO MATTER WHAT OCCURS IN THE REST OF THE ARAB WORLD.

THE TOP ISRAELI OFFICIAL MADE THE REMARKS TO AMERICAN

JOURNALISTS ACCOMPANYING HAK SHORTLY BEFORE HAK FLEW TO AQABA FOR TALKS WITH KING HUSSEIN. THE OFFICIAL REFUSED TO ALLOW HIS NAME TO BE USED.

THE HARD-LINE ISRAELI STANCE -- NORMAL FOR THE OPENING STAGES OF ANY NEGOTIATION -- WAS OUTLINED IN AN HOUR-LONG BRIEFING IN JERUSALEM.

AT THE SAME TIME, THE SENIOR ISRAELI OFFICIAL SAID THAT THE UNCLASSIFIED

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GOVERNMENT IS SENSITIVE TO THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE UNITED STATES COULD USE ARMS SUPPLIES AS A LEVER TO EXTRACT ISRAELI CONCESSIONS.

THE ISRAELI, QUOTING A SENIOR MEMBER OF THE TRAVELING TEAM, SAID THAT THERE IS A "CERTAIN PARALLEL" BETWEEN POLITICAL UNDERSTANDING AND READINESS TO EXTEND SUPPORT. HIS REFERENCE TO THE SENIOR OFFICIAL APPEARED TO POINT TO HAK AS THE PERSON WHO FROM TIME TO TIME MAY HAVE REMINDED THE ISRAELIS OF THE LINKAGE. ...

REPORTERS WHO MET WITH THE TOP ISRAELI OFFICIAL WERE TOLD THAT ISRAEL CONSIDERS EGYPT THE KEY TO ANY NEGOTIATION. NO WAR HAD EVER STARTED IN THE ME WITHOUT EGYPT TAKING THE LEAD, THE OFFICIAL SAID. NOR HAD THERE EVER BEEN ANY MOVEMENT TOWARD PEACE UNLESS EGYPT MOVED FIRST. THE OTHER ARAB COUNTRIES AND THE PALESTINIANS WERE NOT EVEN CRITICAL ISSUES AT THIS POINT, HE SAID.

THIS IS WHY IT IS SO IMPORTANT TO ISRAEL THAT EGYPT TAKE THE LEAD IN MAKING CONCRETE MOVES TO END THE STATE OF WAR, AND THE DIPLOMATIC ISOLATION OF THE JEWISH STATE, IT WAS ARGUED. THE ISRAELI OFFICIAL REPEATED WHAT HAS TO MAKE A FULL PEACE AGREEMENT WITH EGYPT.

"TOMORROW", HE SAID.

BUT SINCE CAIRO DOES NOT WANT TO GO BEYOND THE OTHER ARAB STATES, THE OFFICIAL SAID ISRAEL WOULD SEEK AN INTERIM AGREEMENT. THIS COULD BE A LIMITED DEAL ALONG LINES ALREADY APPROVED BY THE CABINET FOR A WITHDRAWAL OF 18 TO 20 MILES IN RETURN FOR STILL UNDEFINED EGYPTIAN CONCESSIONS, OR A MORE SUBSTANTIAL PULLBACK FROM THE SINAI MOUNTAIN PASSES AND THE OIL FIELDS AT ABU RUDEIS. ...

THE SENIOR ISRAELI OFFICIAL SOUGHT TO LEAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT HAK'S EXPLORATORY MISSION HAD NOT UNCOVERED MUCH NEW GROUND. ISRAEL, HE SAID, NOW KNEW EGYPT'S PUBLIC POSITION WITH A FEW ELABORATIONS MADE BY UNCLASSIFIED

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HAK."

THE TENDENCY IN JERUSALEM IS TO DISCUSS THE EGYPTIAN POSITION AS UNRESPONSIVE TO THE STATED ISRAELI POSITION. THE TRIP, HOWEVER, WAS NEVERTHELESS PRONOUNCED A SUCCESS BECAUSE IT IS USEFUL TO ENCOURAGE HOPES, THE ISRAELI OFFICIAL SAID.

"NOBODY GAVE ANYTHING" THE ISRAELI OFFICIAL SAID. THE REAL NEGOTIATIONS, HE ADDED, WOULD START ONLY WHEN HAK MAKES HIS NEXT TRIP HERE AT THE BEGINNING OF MARCH.

REPORTERS TRAVELING TO AQABA WERE TOLD, HOWEVER, THAT HAK HAD LEARNED SOMETHING FROM BOTH SIDES. REPORTERS WERE URGED TO LOOK AT THE "TRENDS" RATHER THAN THE PUBLIC STATEMENTS OF EACH SIDE. THE TRENDS WERE SAID TO BE POSITIVE ENOUGH FOR HAK TO BE MORE CONFIDENT AND TO CONSIDER IT WORTHWHILE TO RETURN AND TRY TO NEGOTIATE A DEAL

ALTHOUGH NO ONE WOULD SAY WHETHER HAK WAS MORE OPTIMISTIC ABOUT GETTING A LIMITED DEAL OR A MORE EXTENSIVE ONE THAT WOULD INCLUDE ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM THE SINAI PASSES AND THE OIL FIELDS, IT IS UNDERSTOOD THAT HAK IS CONTENDING THAT ANY NEW MOVE WOULD NEED TO BE SUBSTANTIAL TO JUSTIFY THE LENGTHY DIPLOMATIC PROCESS NOW UNDERWAY. ...

6. NYDAIL NEWS - PAGE 6 CARTER - 2-COLUMN PIC HAK AND MEIR. HEADLINE QUOTE ISRAEL AFFIRMS ITS STAND: NO PULLOUT IN SINAI NOW END QUOTE

EXCERPTS: ISRAEL REITERATED A TOUGH PUBLIC POSITION TODAY THAT APPEARED TO PRECLUDE ANY FURTHER ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL IN THE SINAI WITHOUT SUBSTANTIAL CONCESSIONS FROM EGYPT.

AT THE SAME TIME, A HIGH OFFICIAL IN RABIN'S GOVERNMENT INDICATED THAT HAK HAD HINTED AT THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE US MIGHT USE THE FLOW OF AMERICAN ARMS TO THIS UNCLASSIFIED

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COUNTRY TO PUT PRESSURE ON ISRAEL FOR A ME PEACE SETTLEMENT.

THE OFFICIAL SAID THAT A "SENIOR MEMBER" OF HAK'S NEGOTIATION TEAM HAD "MENTIONED" TO THE ISRAELI SPOKESMAN THAT THERE WAS A "CERTAIN PARALLELISM" BETWEEN

POLITICAL UNDERSTANDING AND AMERICAN WILLINGNESS TO
PROVIDE MILITARY SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL.

THE WAY HE EMPHASIZED THE WORDS "SENIOR MEMBER" GAVE
THE IMPRESSION THAT THE OFFICIAL WAS TALKING ABOUT HAK.
THE ISRAELI DID NOT INDICATE WHEN THE HINT OF POSSIBLE

U.S. ARM TWISTING HAD BEEN MADE, BUT SAID THAT SO FAR
ISRAEL HAD RECEIVED MOST OF THE ARMS THAT IT HAD
REQUESTED FROM THE U.S. ...

A LOOK AT FORMULA

THE ISRAELI OFFICIAL DECLARED THAT ISRAEL WOULD BE
WILLING TO GIVE UP ABOUT ONE SIXTH OF THE SINAI, INCLUDING
THE PASSES AND OIL FIELDS, IN AN INTERIM AGREEMENT --
BUT ONLY IF THE AREA WAS DEMILITARIZED AND EGYPT
SIGNED A PLEDGE NOT TO RESORT TO FORCE AGAINST ISRAEL
EVEN IF THERE WAS ANOTHER ARAB-ISRAELI WAR.

HE SAID ISRAEL WOULD BE WILLING TO GIVE BACK A SMALLER
AREA, NOT INCLUDING THE PASSES OR OIL FIELDS, IN EXCHANGE
FOR LESSER POLITICAL CONCESSIONS THAT HE DECLINED TO SPELL
OUT.

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 26 AUG 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 15 FEB 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: n/a
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01 JAN 1960
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975STATE035801
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: S/PRS:SPOULAIN:HHB
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: n/a
Film Number: D750056-0372
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750287/baaaagrh.tel
Line Count: 353
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN PRS
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: ElyME
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 07 MAY 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <07 MAY 2003 by RuthemTJ>; APPROVED <16 JAN 2004 by ElyME>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: n/a
TAGS: OVIP, (KISSINGER, HENRY A)
To: BONN
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006